1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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on Atchin, where I had become familiar with many of the problems involved, and was thus primed with a knowledge of the general outlines of Vao culture before ever I set foot on the island. In the second place, I was already known personally to many of the Vao natives who intermarry with Atchin. In the third place, I had the good fortune to meet immediately with a first-class informant, Ma-taru, a man in the prime of life, who had once been a member of a Presbyterian Mission school but had renounced Christianity and had returned to Vao in order to rebuild the fortunes of his family by an intensive prosecution of megalithic ritual. This man was descended from the former inhabitants of the now submerged island of Tolamp which once flourished between Atchin and Vao, who, owing to historical circumstances to be recounted below, hold a privileged position in the cycle of megalithic rites. His information was therefore of the highest value. Not having time to learn the language of Vao, which is different from that of Atchin though the two islands are only three miles apart, my work with him was carried out in pidgin-English supplemented by comparisons with Atchin, which I spoke sufficiently well by that time to serve as a useful check. On matters of tribal history and kinship his information was supplemented by interviews with Pelur, one of the leading men on Vao, whose photograph appears on Plates V and VIII, who knew no pidgin-English and for whom Ma-taru acted as interpreter. Added to this was the fact that I had evolved a highly efficient technique of recording and cross-referencing which was the admiration of the natives, who believed therefore that anything I had once learnt I never forgot.

It had been my original intention to include in this introductory volume only the information thus recorded, together with a survey of Small Island culture as a whole in order to place it in its proper setting. When I had already started preparing this material for publication, however, my attention was called to an account of certain aspects of Vao ritual that had appeared in *Les Missions Catholiques*, a French Mission journal, from the pen of the Rev. Jean Godefroy, S.M., who had succeeded Père Jamond after my visit as Marist priest on Vao. Perusal of this showed it to be of great value, particularly since the aspects of Vao culture that it dealt with were in the main other than those that I had myself investigated. At the same time, where his information coincided with mine he showed such a high degree of accuracy and understanding of the problems that I had every confidence that those parts of his work that I was myself not able to check were equally reliable. It was therefore with the greatest regret that I read, half-way through the serial publication of his work, that Père Godefroy had died from elephantiasis in Vila after a vain trip to Europe to re-establish his health. Nevertheless, being desirous to make my own volume on Vao as complete as

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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PLATE VIII

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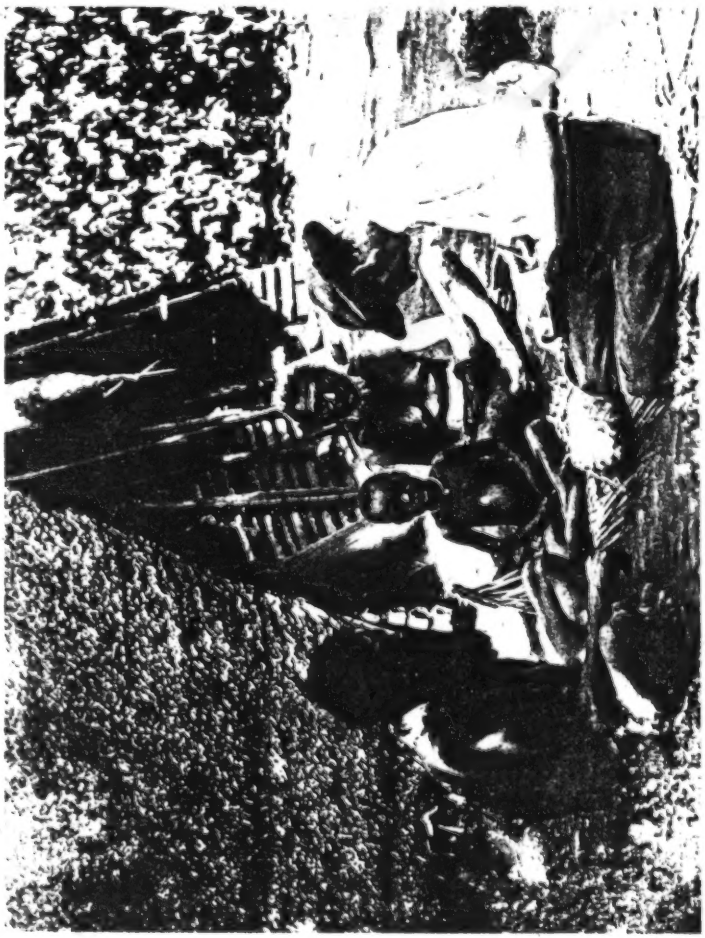

The aged Pelur, of Togh-vanu, holds forth on tribal history which the author records with the help of Ma-taru of Tolamp, whose son Na-sum sits listening too. The scene is the courtyard of Pelur's lodge

[facing p. 84]

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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The Genealogies

In both accounts, the myth now merges directly into the genealogy of the human founders of Pete-hul.

Before using the evidence afforded by this, it is first necessary to say a few words regarding the reliability of the genealogical records kept orally by the natives. I have already called attention to the close connexion existing in all the Small Islands between these genealogies and the stone monuments erected during the course of the Maki rites, by means of which men, or groups of men, commemorate themselves, and in or near which their spirits are believed in some measure to survive. It is by means of these genealogies, and by the stones which act as a perpetual reminder of the lives and exploits of those who erect them, that historical tradition dealing with such ancestors as actually lived on the island is kept alive.

As to the accuracy of the genealogies, I can speak best from my experience on Atchin. There I collected the genealogies of the entire island, and possessed the means to check them from a great number of angles, historical, ritual and sociological, and through the converging of family pedigrees. The genealogy of the Superior double-village of Ruruar, as already mentioned, goes back nineteen generations.[1] The only doubtful points occurred in about the fifteenth and sixteenth ascending generations in the male line, when there was occasional doubt as to whether certain ancestors were brothers or not.

Foundation of Pete-hul nine or ten generations ago.

With regard to the Vao genealogies, I obtained only two, namely, the immediate family pedigree of my informant, Ma-taru, of Tolamp,[2] and the historical genealogy from the village of Togh-vanu leading back to the founders of Pete-hul, which is included in Table II. For this genealogy my authority was Pelur, at that time the oldest leading man of Togh-vanu, who was also my chief informant in several other matters. In so far as I was able to check him, he was entirely reliable, and several times over gave me the same list of ancestors, hesitating only over one name.[3]

According to his account, he was himself the seventh (or eighth) in the direct line of descent from the founder of Pete-hul, and the youngest living member of Togh-vanu, his son's son Naturel, was the ninth (or tenth). The best confirmation of his accuracy (within one generation) is, however, the corroboration afforded by Godefroy, who, quite inde-

[1] In the historical genealogies only men are recorded who stand in the direct male line. Women, being lost to the clan, are not remembered.

[2] See Table X.

[3] There was some doubt whether Peleris or Kalo-won was the father of Tulul.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 194
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PLATE XXII

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Base of the giant monolith erected in the mainland village of Tolamp, with my informant Ma-taru alongside

[facing p. 582]

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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she wanted to go to Buaror, she made the north-east wind called *rualo*,[1] and, holding a coconut leaf up in her canoe (she did not even need to bother to put up a sail), was blown over to Leuru, which is the beach for Buaror. And when she wanted to come back, she made the south-west wind called *gharu*, and was blown back to the beach Kowu on Vao. And all the people saw that she always had the wind she wanted. And they suspected that she made the winds herself, and they asked her, and she said, "Yes." But she would not teach the magic to her husband, for she said, "I offered him the mushrooms, but he would not eat them. Therefore I will not teach the songs to him, but I will teach them to my own people." So she taught the secret to her father, Bu-wush, of Peter-ihi, and after that he was able to make the winds and rain.

One of the most striking features of this tale of origin lies in the fact that the individual who first discovered weather magic was a woman. Weather magic is now, so far as I know, entirely in the hands of men, nor is there any indication that it was ever practised by women. The fact that the transmitter was a woman would seem, therefore, to indicate some connexion between the origin of this form of magic and matrilineal descent, and this supposition is supported by her name Le-taghar, connecting her very definitely with the dual organisation creator-deity Ta-ghar. It is, moreover, of interest to find that according to Codrington (3, p. 199) the healing of the sick belongs in Oba to the *tangaloe ngovo*, "to those, that is to say, who have the knowledge of the songs and charms, believed to have come down from Tagaro himself, by which *mana* is conveyed and applied."[2] The significance of this will be seen later when we come to examine the cultural basis of magic.[3]

(*b*) BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE MAGIC FOR MAKING RAIN

I have no record of the rites connected with the making of wind, but I have recorded briefly two of the four elements[4] that go towards the making of rain, namely the concrete medium containing the "power" together with the actions performed over it, and the songs sung to encourage rain from several specified quarters. My informant was an old man named Wu-wushi,[5] of Peter-ihi, a rain-maker who had inherited the art in direct succession from the Bu-wush mentioned above as being the first weather magician on Vao.

[1] All winds have names, according to the direction in which they blow. A full list in the Atchin language will be given in a future volume.

[2] But note that, according to Godefroy, Ta-ghar has no power to cause the rain to fall (see p. 217).

[3] See p. 640. [4] See p. 641.

[5] It is interesting to note the similarity of this name with that of Bu-wush, the first practitioner. It is just possible, therefore, that the name may be a kind of magical title. One of Wu-wushi's other names was Sum-res. Godefroy (1, 1933, p. 238) records the names of two others, Sum-ta-mat and Melte-lil-nale [my hyphens].

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of the white man made this position untenable, and they could conceive no possible compromise. If the white man stayed they must die out, as had so many of their neighbours. Some of the young men also said, "What, if this be the case, is the use of rearing children?" and there is no doubt that among this section of the community abortions were common, as pedigrees bear out in the clear diminution of the number of births. There was however a third section of the community, the younger men who had never known the time before the white man came, who were already born into an atmosphere of inevitable compromise, for whom the glamour of the white man's superior material civilization was tempered with a shrewd sense of his weaknesses and some knowledge of how to deal with him. These were the men who were bent on rehabilitating Atchin culture, while at the same time incorporating into it such new elements as seemed not to conflict too greatly with it. One such was Lawak, then my chief friend and informant, now, according to Mr. Harrisson, the most influential man on the island, who had spent two years of his youth in the French penal settlement of Noumea, who was one of the few young men of my day to take to him two wives, and who, his first wife being sick, himself reared her baby son by feeding him on the juices of fruits; nor shall I ever forget his delight when the boy first began to run. I must confess that in 1914, while admiring their efforts, I had little hope in their ultimate success. Time has shown otherwise. The population has increased and is increasing now. It is to such men as Lawak who, through knowledge of the white man and how to deal with him, had hope in the future but at the same time preserved their independence of mind and love of their own culture, that the present increase in population and renaissance of culture is due.

The author is hoping to publish a detailed account of the social organization, religion, language, music, and sea-faring activities of the inhabitants of the small islands off the north-east coast of Malekula, in a series of volumes entitled, 'Stone Men of Malekula.' The first volume, dealing with the island of Vao, is to appear this autumn.

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